



---

Antonio de Espejo and His Journey to New Mexico

Author(s): J. Lloyd Mecham

Source: *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Oct., 1926, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Oct., 1926), pp. 114-138

Published by: Texas State Historical Association

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30234960>

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Texas State Historical Association is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*

## ANTONIO DE ESPEJO AND HIS JOURNEY TO NEW MEXICO

J. LLOYD MECHAM

“With the desire to serve your Majesty and increase the royal crown, like a loyal and faithful vassal . . . I set out from the government of Nueva Vizcaya with a religious and fourteen soldiers, whom I took with me, moved and compelled by a very pious and charitable occasion.”<sup>1</sup> Such, in his own words was the purpose of Antonio de Espejo in journeying to New Mexico in November, 1582. The primary object of the expedition was to rescue two Franciscan friars, Agustín Rodríguez and Francisco López, who had entered the pueblo region of the upper Rio Grande with Francisco Chamuscado the preceding year, and had remained in that land. Antonio de Espejo, notwithstanding his protests that he “entered those lands with a pious purpose,”<sup>2</sup> and was actuated by a “desire of serving the Lord and augmenting our Holy Catholic Faith, and of increasing at the same time the realms of the royal crown,”<sup>3</sup> neglected to state the real reason why he joined the rescue party of Father Beltrán. He was then under sentence for murder, and since it was advisable that he absent himself from New Spain—at least until he could present a satisfactory account of services rendered to the crown as a pretext for petitioning the royal clemency—he welcomed the opportunity to join the expedition to New Mexico.<sup>4</sup> So meritorious did he regard

<sup>1</sup>Letter to Espejo to the king, 1584, in H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), 195.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of Espejo to viceroy, 1583, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 193.

<sup>3</sup>Comisario general de la Orden de San Francisco, Fray Pedro Oroz, to the king, Mexico, April 22, 1584 (A. G. I., 58-3-9).

<sup>4</sup>In no printed account of the Espejo expedition, either early or modern, is there mention of the murder charge. The principal printed sources of information regarding the entrada are those documents contained in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacadas, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, 1864-1886), XV. Most of these are translated in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 168-195. In Hakluyt's *Voyages* (London, 1599-1600), III, 383-386, and in Mendoza, *History of the Kingdom of China* (translation in Hakluyt Society Publications, London, 1854), II, 228-252, are accounts of the expedition. Prior to the publication of Bolton's *Spanish Exploration* these were the only sources of information concerning Espejo. Accompanying his translation of the “Narrative of Espejo,” Bolton refers in his foot-notes to two unpublished

his services on the entrada, "having traveled, within the past year and over, more than eight hundred leagues, visiting and exploring the provinces of New Mexico,"<sup>5</sup> that he lost no time after his return to petition a remission of his sentence. With due regard to these circumstances, the expedition of Antonio de Espejo is to be considered.

Antonio de Espejo was born in the village of Torre Milano, a suburb of Córdoba. Nothing is known concerning his parentage and his early life. He came to Mexico in 1571 with Archbishop Moya y Contreras as one of the officials of the Inquisition to be put in force by Moya. In 1575 he petitioned that his three-year-old daughter Juana be declared legitimate and be made his heir. The *legitimación* was granted. The daughter later married Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, brother of Fr. Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, author of the famous *Historia de la China* (1585), which contains an account of the Espejo expedition to New Mexico. It now appears that the historian was given an independent *relacion* by his brother, Pedro Gonzales, who went to Spain in 1584 as agent for Espejo.<sup>6</sup>

Antonio de Espejo soon became active in the northern interior as a cattle rancher. His success was marked, for, by 1580, he owned numerous *estancias*, or cattle-ranches, in the districts of Querétaro and Celaya.<sup>7</sup> In 1584, when he petitioned the crown for a commission to undertake the conquest and settlement of New Mexico, he was able to pledge more than one hundred thousand gold ducats. He never failed to mention in his several letters to the king that he was very wealthy and qualified to equip an expedition without cost to *real hacienda*. It does not appear

accounts which had just come into his possession: (1) Diego Pérez de Luxán, "Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo Mexico Anton de Espejo en el año de 82" (A. G. I. 1-1-3/22); and (2) Baltasar de Obregón, "Crónica comentario ó relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N. E. y del Nuevo Mexico, 1584" (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). Beyond this slight use of these documents they have never been used as the basis of an authoritative account. Not only has the writer consulted the materials mentioned above, but he has also used numerous other unpublished documents which he found in the Archivo General de Indias.

<sup>5</sup>Espejo to the viceroy, 1583, 193.

<sup>6</sup>Wagner, H. R., *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (Berkeley, 1924), 76-77.

<sup>7</sup>Memorial of Espejo to the king, in Col. Doc. Inéd., XV, 151, 161; Obregón, Crónica (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Información sobre la muerte de officio de Queretaro, 6 de abril de 1581 (A. G. I., 58-6-23).

that Antonio was connected with any exploring or military enterprises prior to 1582. He lived the life of a wealthy ranch owner and divided his time between his *estancias* and his home in Mexico City.

On April 5, 1581, Antonio de Espejo assembled near Celaya a considerable number of vaqueros from his various *estancias* preparatory to making a round-up of his cattle. When all was in readiness for the departure to the Valle de San Francisco, where the branding was to take place, one of the vaqueros, a mulatto, named Sebastián López, requested to remain, pleading illness. Finding that he had no fever, and suspecting pretense, Espejo ordered López to be bled. The vaquero objected strenuously, whereupon Espejo threatened to stab him as he had killed another rebellious cowboy, Andrés Vásquez, an Indian, on his *estancia* of Chamaquero. Because of Espejo's threats and harsh treatment, four of the vaqueros, Sebastián López, Alonso Hernandez, a mestizo, Marcos Ramos, also a mestizo, and Diego Ramirez, a mulatto, plotted to desert. They returned by way of the *estancia* of Chamaquero, and there the murder of Andrés Vásquez by Espejo was verified. The deserters hastened on to Aguas Calientes, arriving at dawn on April 6, 1581. Sebastián López and Diego Ramirez remained in the pueblo, while the other two men, who were brothers-in-law, went to Espejo's *estancia* to get their wives.<sup>8</sup>

Immediately after the arrival of the fugitives there appeared in the *estancia* Antonio de Espejo, Pedro Muñoz de Espejo, his brother, and Juan Rodríguez, a mestizo. All three men wore coats of mail and were heavily armed. When Ramos and Hernandez attempted flight they were fired upon. The former was shot through the head and was killed instantly; the latter, however, was only wounded in the hand. It was proven in the trial that Pedro Muñoz de Espejo fired both shots, although Hernandez testified that Antonio de Espejo was the one who killed Ramos.

Their vengeance not being satisfied, the Espejos bound the unfortunate Hernandez and forced him to lead them to the hiding place of the other two deserters. They searched through the

<sup>8</sup>The above details, and those relating to the crime have been derived from the following sources: (1) Ynformación sobre la muerte de officio en Queretaro, 6 de abril de 1581; (2) Acusación del fiscal quontra pedro de espejo; (3) Sentencia de revista, Mexico, 24 de mayo de 1582; all in A. G. I., 58-6-23.

various streets and houses of Aguas Calientes without success. Then they went to a nearby *estancia* where Hernandez was released on condition that he would tell his sister, the widow of Marcos Ramos, that Antonio de Espejo would give her one hundred pesos if she made no complaint against him. Whether or not Hernandez delivered the message, and what was the widow's reaction, we do not know. But at any rate Hernandez hastened to the nearest magistrate, the lieutenant-alcalde mayor of Queretaro. That official took a complete attested statement from Hernandez, and early the following morning went to Aguas Calientes. There a complete investigation was made and the testimony of several witnesses was taken.

On June 3, 1581, in Mexico City, a formal charge was brought against the Espejo brothers. On the same date the *alcaldes del crimen* assigned the time of trial as fifty days from date. When the charge was made, Antonio de Espejo was not present.<sup>9</sup> The circumstances of the first trial, in which the Espejos were found guilty, are not known to the writer. The case, however, seems to have been expedited, for a retrial took place before the same court in May, 1582. The new trial was granted because of the ability of the defense to present new evidence. A mitigation of the first sentence was secured, but still the defendants were adjudged guilty. The more severe sentence was meted to Pedro Muñoz de Espejo, for he was the actual murderer, whereas Antonio was merely his accomplice. He was condemned to ten years' exile from Mexico City and from the "Province of the Chichimecos." He was also sentenced to five years' penal servitude in the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa. Furthermore, he was condemned to forfeit one-half of his estate, and pay all costs of the trial. As for Antonio de Espejo, his sentence consisted, so far as we know, of a heavy fine. Antonio, however, absented himself from Mexico and made no effort to pay his fine. It was a customary practice to evade punishment for crime by remaining on the frontiers.

In January, 1583, the fiscal, Eugenio de Salazar, complained that "the pronounced sentence against the said Antonio de Espejo for the crime which he committed, with respect to the condemnation of his property, has become a plaything, for a year has passed without the said Antonio de Espejo presenting himself . . .

<sup>9</sup>Sentencia de prueba, Mexico, 3 de junio de 1581 (A. G. I., 58-6-23).

and his creditors place themselves against your royal fiscal with respect to the said property."<sup>10</sup> Salazar concluded by petitioning that he be granted a writ of execution to seize the property of Espejo, that it be sold at auction, and that the creditors of Espejo be made to conform to the said sentence. The petition was granted, and it was evidently by this authority that the *justicia* of Santa Bárbara seized Espejo's property when he returned from New Mexico.

While Antonio de Espejo was in Nueva Vizcaya seeking a means of evading his sentence, there returned to Santa Bárbara the survivors of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition to New Mexico (1581-1582). The fate of the friars who remained among the Pueblo Indians was a matter of grave concern to their Franciscan brethren, and they were anxious to undertake their rescue. Even the viceroy was inclined to take action, especially since the returned soldiers gave such glowing accounts of the new lands. After taking depositions from four of the returned soldiers, Viceroy Coruña sought the advice of Captain Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, the lieutenant-captain general of Nueva Galicia. He could not have consulted a more trustworthy authority, for Rodrigo had wide experience in Florida with Tristan de Arellano, and in Nueva Vizcaya with Francisco de Ibarra. He was the discoverer of the mines of Santa Bárbara (1567),<sup>11</sup> and later became the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. After the death of Francisco de Ibarra (1575), Rodrigo del Rio was the outstanding personality in Nueva Vizcaya.

Del Rio suggested that from eighty to one hundred men would be sufficient to send to New Mexico to ascertain if the friars were still alive, and to obtain information about the country. But when news was received later from an Indian who had remained with the friars, that they had been killed, Del Rio was forced to modify his recommendations. Since the Indians were aroused, he said, they would offer resistance to the Spaniards, and at least three hundred men would be necessary to overawe them.<sup>12</sup> The depositions of the soldiers and the recommendations of Del Rio were sent by Viceroy Coruña to the king, and until the crown acted

<sup>10</sup>Eugenio de Salazar to the king, Mexico, January 22, 1583 (A. G. I., 58-6-23).

<sup>11</sup>Francisco de Ybarra, Ynformación de meritos, 1574 (A. G. I., 1-3-20/11).

<sup>12</sup>*Col. Dóc. Inéd.*, XV, 137-146.

nothing was to be done in the matter.<sup>13</sup> The Franciscans were unwilling to wait upon the civil authorities in unraveling the requisite yardage of red-tape, and they undertook to organize a rescue party.

By what official authority the expedition was organized and was allowed to depart from Nueva Vizcaya is not certain. Espejo stated that, "at the instance of the said Fray Bernardino, Captain Juan de Ontiveros, alcalde mayor for his Majesty in the pueblos called the Cuatro Cienegas, which lie within the said jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, seventy leagues east of the mines of Santa Bárbola, gave his order and commission that I, with some soldiers, should enter the new land to succor and bring out the religious, and men who had remained in it. And so, by virtue of said order and commission, I enlisted fourteen soldiers, etc."<sup>14</sup> In the light of new evidence it appears that Espejo distorted the truth.<sup>15</sup> Diego Pérez de Luxán, who accompanied the party to New Mexico, claimed that Father Pedro de Heredia had been granted a license by Juan de Ibarra, lieutenant-governor of Nueva Vizcaya, "permitting all the persons who desired to accompany the said Fray Pedro de Heredia." Baltasar de Obregón, whose account is most favorable toward Espejo, and who conversed with members of the expedition, stated that it was not until the expedition had reached the Conchos-Rio Grande junction that they elected Espejo as the captain of the expedition. This tallies with Luxán's account. It is certain that no commission was given Antonio de Espejo nor any other member of the party.

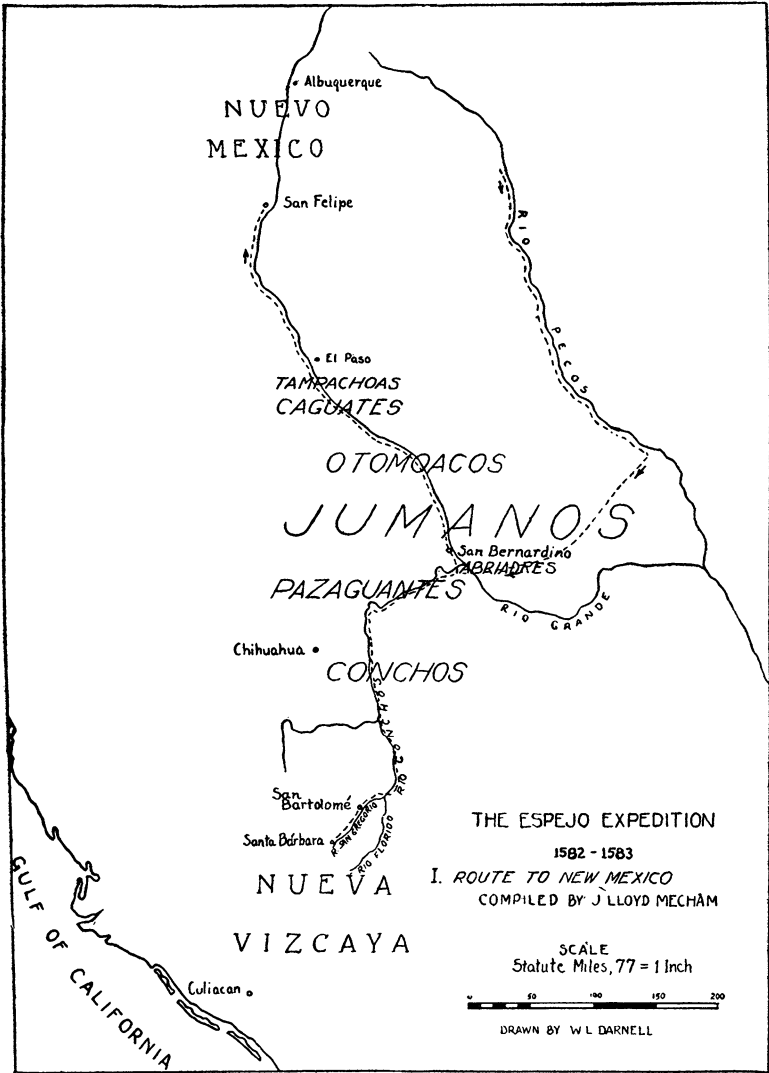
Two Franciscans, Fray Pedro de Heredia and Fray Bernardino Beltrán, and fifteen soldiers<sup>16</sup> assembled in Santa Bárbara for the

<sup>13</sup>On March 29, 1583, the king answered favorably, and ordered a contract to be made for the proposed undertaking "with the person who seemed most fit." *Col. Dóc. Inéd.*, XV, 99-100.

<sup>14</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 169-70.

<sup>15</sup>It is entirely possible that some kind of license was granted by the remote jurisdiction of Cuatro Cienegas. A most interesting phase of this question is the claim of Luís de Caravajal, governor of Nuevo Leon, that Espejo was commissioned by himself. Says Caravajal, "From there [Villa de la Cueva, founded by Caravajal] by a commission granted by myself, the provinces called New Mexico were discovered, and Antonio de Espejo did it with my commission, as all this is substantiated by the said informaciones made in Guadalajara, and I beg that one be opened and examined to substantiate what I have said." V. Riva Palacio, ed., *México á través de los siglos* (Barcelona, 1888-89), II, 445.

<sup>16</sup>They were: Antonio de Espejo, Juan López de Ibarra, Bernardo de





entrada. Each man was supplied with arms, munitions, and provisions. A number of Indian servants and a few interpreters were assembled; also, 115 horses and mules. Although Espejo claimed that all were equipped at his cost, Obregón said, "He gave as far as he was able what was needed; the soldiers also aided in equipping themselves according to their means."

Since no captain had been appointed, Father Pedro de Heredia was technically in command. It appears, however, that Heredia had not received the permission of his custodian. The other friar, Bernardino Beltrán, had received permission from his superior in the monastery of Durango, to go on the expedition. The party set out, on November 10, 1582, from San Bartolomé, a mining outpost nine leagues north of Santa Bárbara, and located on the San Gregorio River, an upper branch of the Conchos River in southern Chihuahua. After they had traveled but a day, they were overtaken by a Fray Luís bearing letters to Heredia from his custodian, demanding his return. Fray Luís, and two other friars who had remained in San Bartolomé, had been given permission by their authorities to join the expedition. Fathers Luís and Heredia, and two soldiers, returned to San Bartolomé. There they received a message from Juan de Ibarra requesting them to wait for ten or twelve days for a license from Heredia's custodian. Ibarra also promised to give the friar a captain's commission for whomever he wished to grant it. Heredia sent back the two soldiers with the request that the party travel slowly and he would overtake it as soon as he received his license. One of the soldiers, Miguel Sanchez, took with him his wife and his three sons, one of whom was three and one-half years, and another twenty months old. Father Beltrán was charged by Heredia to administer the sacrament during his absence. No leader was chosen, because it was expected that Fray Heredia with the captain's license would rejoin the party in a few days.<sup>17</sup>

The march down the San Gregorio was resumed on November

Luna, Diego Pérez de Luxán, Gáspar de Luxán, Francisco de Barreto, Gregorio Hernandez, Miguel Sanchez, Lazaro Sanchez, Miguel Sanchez Nevado, Alonso de Miranda, Pedro Hernandez de Almansa, Juan Hernandez, Cristóbal Sanchez, and Juan de Frias. Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Narrative of Espejo, 170; Obregón (*Crónica*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22), in naming the personnel, omits the names of Gregorio Hernandez and Juan de Frias.

<sup>17</sup>Luxán, *Entrada* and Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

13th. Luxán wrote a day-by-day relation of the journey to and from New Mexico; he described the nature of the country they passed through, the natives encountered, and the principal incidents of the journey. Most of this can be pared down considerably without prejudice to the interest and importance of the expedition.

Although San Bartolomé was the last Christian settlement on the northern frontier, the country as far north as the Rio Grande had been visited on numerous occasions by Spaniards. The object of these visits had been to enslave the natives, who were sold in Nueva Vizcaya, where the labor supply was scarce, to work in the mines. This trade, illegal though it was, was very lucrative, and the provincial authorities assisted in thwarting the law.<sup>18</sup> The first stage of the march, therefore, down the San Gregorio and the Conchos, was made over an oft-trod trail.

Marching down the Conchos River, they met several tribes: first, the Conchos, who lived along the river for about 150 miles; second, the Pazaguantes, a small nation which occupied only about thirty or forty miles along the river; and, third, the Jumano nation, which inhabited an extensive region about the confluence of the Conchos and Rio Grande.<sup>19</sup> The last-named nation was divided into several branches speaking different dialects, but nevertheless related: (1) those adjoining the Pazaguantes on the Conchos and extending for some distance up the Rio Grande were known as the Patarabueyes or Otomoacos; (2) those living at the junction of the rivers and south of it were called Abriadres; and, (3) the Indians who lived across the Rio Grande and roamed the plains in pursuit of buffalo were known as the Jumanos proper.<sup>20</sup>

Culturally these various tribes differed very little. They were

<sup>18</sup>Some of these slave-hunters were: Lope de Ariste and Mateo Gonzalez, both from Santa Bárbara; and Gáspar de Luxán from Indé. It is known that Luxán crossed the Rio Grande on one of his expeditions. Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>19</sup>Espejo said they met the Tobosos after the Pazaguantes. But the Tobosos are not mentioned by either Luxán or Obregón. Hernán Gallegos, the narrator of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition, does not mention the Tobosos. Hernán Gallegos, "Relación y conculdio de el viage y subsezo que Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus companeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico en Junio de 1581" (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>20</sup>For the Jumano Indians see F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* (Washington, 1907), I, 636, and H. E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas," in the *TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY*, XV, 66-84.

nomads who derived their living chiefly from the hunt. They were either nude or very scantily clad in skins of rabbits, and deer and buffalo hides. In addition to fish and game they lived on maize, gourds, melons, beans, and the maguey plant. The rancherias of the Conchos were made up of rude grass huts; the houses of the Jumanos, however, were more substantial and were better arranged into pueblos. Espejo reported that he saw five Jumano villages with more than ten thousand Indians; this is obviously exaggerated.

The Spaniards were allowed to march through the lands of the various nations without molestation. The natives, profiting by prior experience with the slave-hunters, often abandoned their villages and sought safety in the mountains. The Christians were generally successful in reassuring them, whereupon the Indians gave them supplies of food. The seventy-two leagues from San Bartolomé to the Rio Grande were negotiated by December 9th, in twenty-six days. The party had been proceeding, according to Fray Heredia's instructions, by easy stages. To improve their time while waiting at the Rio Grande, Fray Beltrán and five soldiers made a short expedition down the river to visit some Abriadres' villages. Even there they found evidences of slave-hunters' depredations. These Indians retained a vague memory of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.<sup>21</sup>

While the explorers were waiting near the junction they found an Indian who had been in New Mexico with Chamuscado. He told Fray Beltrán that it was untrue that the friars had been killed. This news made the good friar impatient of further delay, and he advised that they hasten. The soldiers were in thorough agreement. Since they had no leader, for they had been awaiting the commission that Heredia was to bring from Juan de Ibarra, they elected Antonio de Espejo their captain and *justicia mayor*.<sup>22</sup> Espejo does not mention, in any of his writings, his election as captain, presumably because he wished to convey the impression that he had been the captain from the start.

After a delay of eight days near the junction of the rivers, the

<sup>21</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 173; Obregón, *Crónica* and Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; "In this pueblo, and in all the rest," said Luxán (*Entrada* A. G. I., 1-1-3/22), "the Indians gave us an account of how Cabeza de Vaca, his companions, and a negro had been there."

<sup>22</sup>Luxán, *Entrada* and Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

march up the Rio Grande was resumed on December 17th. The Otomoacos were encountered for a distance of forty-five leagues, or until January 2, 1583, when another tribe, the Caguates, were met.<sup>23</sup> According to Luxán they were related to the Otomoacos and spoke almost the same language. Fourteen leagues up river, but some distance below El Paso, in the midst of a great marsh land, or lagoons, the Spaniards found another tribe, the Tampachos. They also were said to be related to the Otomoacos.<sup>24</sup> They received their visitors with rejoicing, and gave them an abundant supply of food. After leaving the lagoons the Spaniards marched up the river for fifteen days, or fifty-eight leagues, without seeing any people. On February 1, 1583, forty-five days after leaving the junction, and having traveled about 121 leagues, they eventually arrived at the first of the New Mexican pueblos.<sup>25</sup>

The Piros were the southernmost of the Pueblo Indians. They extended from about San Marcial to Sevilleta, where they bordered on the Tiguas.<sup>26</sup> Obregón said that the province of San Felipe, the name given to the district inhabited by the Piros, was twenty leagues long and six leagues wide, and was made up of twelve pueblos of 250 houses. The Indians received the Spaniards very kindly, and regaled them with presents and food-stuffs. Marching up the river through the midst of numerous pueblos the Christians marveled at the high stage of culture of these Indians: their orderly pueblos of flat-roofed adobe houses, three, four and five stories high; their extensive irrigated fields of beans, maize, and squashes; and their clothing of cotton mantas, and tanned buffalo and deer hides. The Spaniards were convinced that they were

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*; Bolton (*Spanish Exploration*, 174, n. 1) is inclined to believe that they were the Suma and Manso tribes settled between El Paso and the Jumanos.

<sup>24</sup>The Tampachos were not encountered by the Chamuscado party. Since these people were nomads, they were probably not in this locality when Chamuscado passed through. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>25</sup>It is remarkable that this was the exact time that it took the Chamuscado party to cover the same distance.

<sup>26</sup>"The region of San Marcial not only indicates the southern limit of the pueblos of the sixteenth century, but it seems also that the many-storied pueblo type of architecture at no time extended farther down the Rio Grande Valley" (A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, Cambridge, 1892. Part II, 252); "In 1630, Sevilleta, twenty miles north of Socorro, was the most northerly of the Piros pueblos" (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 515).

indeed in another Mexico. From these Indians they learned that a neighboring tribe, the Tiguas, had martyred Fathers Agustín and López; and, since they were aroused and armed, the Piros cautioned the Spaniards against entering their land. There were differences of opinion in the Spanish camp regarding their next step. Father Beltrán was of the opinion that they should return, now that they were certain the friars were dead. He was supported by Gregorio Hernandez and Miguel Sanchez. The others argued with good reason that they should not take the word of the natives, who spoke only by signs, but that they should ascertain the truth for themselves. The latter opinion prevailing, they determined to move on.

Preliminary to their departure for the Tiguas, Espejo and two of the soldiers made a reconnoitering trip of about ten leagues to the east of the Manzano Mountains to the province of the Magrias or Maguas. This region, according to Bandelier,<sup>27</sup> was once occupied by the Tiguas; evidently, then, the Magrias were only a branch of the Tigua nation. They had eleven pueblos of 250 houses.<sup>28</sup> Chamuscado visited the same province, and Gallegos mentioned by name five pueblos located between Chilili and Manzanas. Espejo discovered that these were the Indians who killed Fray Juan de Santa María, another friar who had accompanied Fray Agustín and Fray López;<sup>29</sup> “however, they said nothing about it for fear of arousing the Indians.” Since they were only three in number, they were afraid to venture far, and therefore they only visited two of the pueblos. Then they returned to their camp on the river.

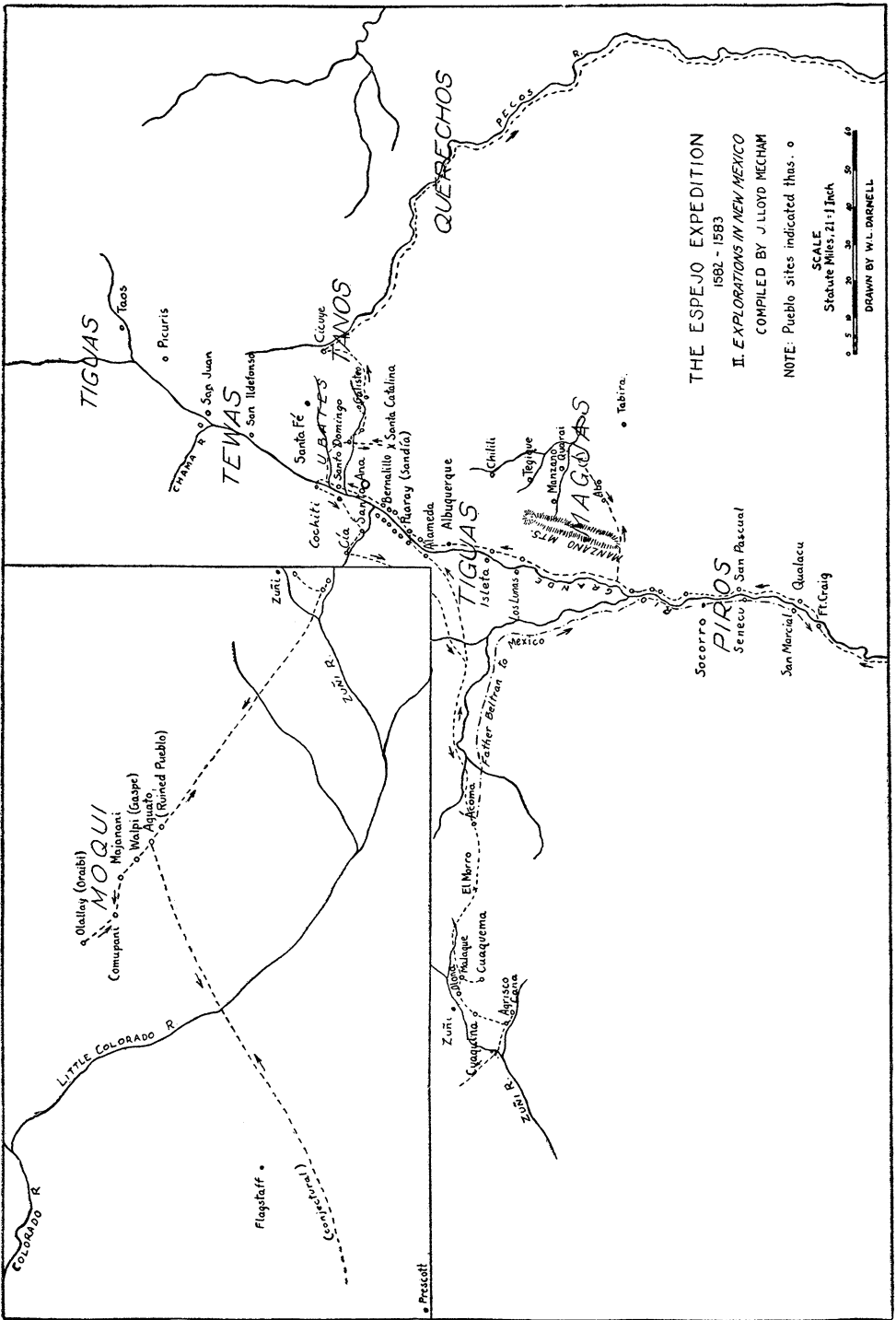
Resuming their march up the Rio Grande, the explorers left the Piros and entered the limits of the Tigua nation (February 14, 1583). Just where the Tiguex settlements began is uncertain; the present Los Lunas, it is certain, was Tiguex, but farther south, as far as La Joya, it is problematical which pueblos belonged to the Tiguas and which to the Piros.<sup>30</sup> Since archaeological evidence is scanty, we must bear heavily upon Luxán’s *Entrada*. Six leagues

<sup>27</sup>Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 253-5, 258.

<sup>28</sup>Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Espejo estimated the population at forty thousand!

<sup>29</sup>See J. L. Mecham, “The Martyrdom of Fray Juan de Santa María,” in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 308-321.

<sup>30</sup>A. F. Bandelier, in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, III, 61.



below the Bernalillo region the Espejo party stopped near two pueblos, one of which was very large. One of these was Isleta, and clinches Bandelier's inference that the pueblo existed in the sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup> About four leagues south of Isleta Luxán mentioned another pueblo which has been identified with the Tiguex pueblo of San Clementa, located on the present site of Isleta.<sup>32</sup> Since Luxán mentioned another pueblo within four leagues to the south of Los Lunas, we can conclude that the Tiguex pueblos extended from one to four leagues below Los Lunas.

The inhabitants of all the pueblos that were visited by Espejo and his companions fled in fear to the mountains. Their efforts to reassure the natives and induce them to return to their homes were unavailing. About six leagues above Isleta the Spaniards entered the most densely populated district of the Tiguas. In fact, Castaño de Sosa, who visited this country a few years later, recorded that there were in sight fourteen pueblos.<sup>33</sup> Since no Tiguex ruins have been discovered north of Bernalillo, I therefore conclude that these pueblos were located between Sandía and Bernalillo.<sup>34</sup>

On February 17, 1583, Espejo and his companions arrived at the pueblo of Puaray, where the friars Agustín and López had been killed. The Spaniards named the pueblo "Puala de los Martires." It was described by Luxán as being a large pueblo of four hundred houses; but Gallegos, who saw it two years before, counted but 120 houses. This pueblo has been identified with the present ruin near Sandía. It is not to be confused with the Puaray of 1680, which was located a league farther south.<sup>35</sup> The inhabitants of

<sup>31</sup>"The earliest mention of Isleta dates from 1629; it was then already a mission with a resident priest. This leads me to infer that the pueblo existed in the sixteenth century" (Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 233).

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 233; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 623.

<sup>33</sup>Dorothy Hull, "Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico in 1590," in *Old Santa Fé*, III, 324-5; the Chamuscado party passed twelve pueblos in one day.

<sup>34</sup>According to Bandelier, the ruins on the east bank of the river are the following: "the burned pueblo of Bernalillo, a ruin near Sandía, one near Los Corrales south of Bernalillo, and the old pueblo of Alameda midway between Bernalillo and Albuquerque" (*Final Report*, II, 230).

<sup>35</sup>The ruin on the east bank of the river about ten miles north of Albuquerque, was the site of Puaray of 1680. Bandelier erroneously located it as Alameda. C. W. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, 1680-1681," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 383.

Puaray, fearing the vengeance of the Spaniards, for they had experienced Spanish cruelty at the hands of Coronado,<sup>36</sup> sought refuge in nearby mountains, and refused all entreaties to return. After three days of futile effort they marched on, visiting the other pueblos, which were also deserted. Altogether the Spaniards accounted for sixteen Tiguex pueblos, some of them having as many as six hundred houses.<sup>37</sup> These pueblos were larger, higher, and more elaborate than those of the Piro. The people, although they spoke a different language, wore the same kind of clothing, and practiced the same mode of living.

Since there was no longer any doubt regarding the deaths of the friars, some of the party, notably Fray Beltrán, desired to return to Mexico. Deeming that his account of services rendered was not sufficiently flattering to risk a return to Mexico, Espejo opposed an immediate return, and he was supported by most of the soldiers. Their enthusiasm to continue exploring was stimulated by Indian tales of greater and richer provinces "farther on." "I deemed this a good opportunity," said Espejo, "to serve his Majesty by visiting and discovering those lands so new and so remote, in order to give a report of them to his Majesty with no expense to him in their discovery. I therefore determined to continue as long as my strength would permit."<sup>38</sup>

Six leagues beyond the Tiguas of Bernalillo were encountered the Queres, who inhabited five pueblos, three on the Rio Grande: Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe; and two in the Jémez Valley: Cía and Santa Ana.<sup>39</sup> Cochití, which probably occupied its present site, was found to be a large pueblo of about 250 houses of two to four stories. Espejo's party did not go farther up the Rio Grande, but, hearing of rich provinces to the west, altered their march in that direction. After they had traveled

<sup>36</sup>For the revolt of the Tiguex and their punishment by Coronado, see G. P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," in U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1896), Pt. I, 497.

<sup>37</sup>Luxán gives the names of twelve pueblos of the Tiguas: Paguana, Comiseachine, Guagua, Gogose, Simasa, Suite, Nocoche, Hacala, Tiara, Ybacios, Casa, and Puala.

<sup>38</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 179-180.

<sup>39</sup>Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 139, 146, 168; for the location of the pueblos see Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, 562, 629, 675; Gallegos found five pueblos, and in essentially the same localities. The names of the pueblos, as given by Luxán, were: Catreste, Gigue, Tripolte, Cochita and Suyara.



two days, or fourteen leagues, they came to the Queres pueblos in the Jémez Valley. The greatest of these pueblos was Cía. It was described as a great city of one thousand houses, eight plazas, and a male population of four thousand. The houses were said to be larger, higher, and better constructed than any seen up to that time. The intelligence and manner of living of these Indians was much the same as that of the Tiguas. They, however, raised cotton in abundance, and their clothing was made primarily from that product. The women wore, in addition to cotton mantas, blankets of chicken feathers. "It is certainly an ugly dress," said Luxán.

Having been regaled with stories of rich provinces to the west, the Spaniards left Cía on February 28th, and set out for Zuñi or Cíbola.<sup>40</sup> They marched by way of the pueblo of Ácoma, which was situated on top of a high, rocky mesa. It was described as having seven hundred houses and six thousand inhabitants.<sup>41</sup> Would that the other pueblos were as easily identified as Ácoma, which was an unmistakable landmark! The natives received their visitors kindly, performed dances and feats of juggling, and gave them presents.

From Ácoma Espejo's party marched toward Zuñi. Although they had been told of silver prospects in the mountains, they did not venture to search for them because of fear of the Querechos. These nomadic people of the mountains and plains were in intimate trade relations with the inhabitants of Ácoma, and exchanged salt, game, and tanned deer hides, for cotton mantas and other things. To quiet the complaints of Gregorio Hernandez, the principal malcontent who wanted to return to Mexico, the soldiers elected him *alferez mayor*, or standard bearer, "so that, being entrusted with an office, he would not continue his bad opinion, and would not arouse the other soldiers." The desired effect was not obtained, for, in the words of Obregón, "what happened differently will be related later." On the same occasion Diego Pérez de

<sup>40</sup>From Cía, according to Espejo (Narrative of Espejo, 182), they went to the Province of "Emexes," six leagues to the northwest, where they discovered seven pueblos. Obregon said that they did not go to the "Emixix," where the pueblos were said to be three times larger than Cía. Luxán does not mention the province.

<sup>41</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 182-183. According to Gallegos the pueblo had but five hundred houses.

Luxán was elected *alguacil mayor del campo*, or high constable.<sup>42</sup> It is reasonably certain that Espejo followed the old trail which passes near Cebolleta and connects Ácoma with the Zuñi region by way of El Morro, or Inscription Rock, and the headwaters of the Zuñi River at Pescado.<sup>43</sup>

About seventy-five miles west of Ácoma, on March 14th, Espejo arrived at the pueblo of Malaque, one of the six pueblos of the famous Zuñi or Cíbola nation. Notwithstanding Bandelier's assertion that Oñate, in 1598, was the first to give the native names of the Zuñi pueblos, we have lists of the original names by both Gallegos and Luxán. According to the latter they were called: Malaque, Cuaquema, Agrisco, Olona, Cuaquina, and Cana.<sup>44</sup> The population of the six pueblos was estimated by Espejo at twenty thousand. The bracing climate of Zuñi was conducive to good health, for the Spaniards noted the absence of disease among the natives. The soil was very fertile and was cultivated extensively. Since it was so cold, the people dressed in pelts. They didn't raise cotton, but procured their cotton mantas from Moqui. "These good people of Zuñi are very kind-hearted," said Luxán, "for whenever some Indians come to the houses of others they are immediately given something to eat, and for this reason hunger and satiety are common."

Because of the inclement weather, the explorers remained in Zuñi almost a month; most of this time was spent in the westernmost pueblo, Agrisco. In several of the pueblos they found crosses that had been erected by Coronado and Chamuscado. They also found four Mexican Indians who had remained there after Coronado's expedition. They told Espejo about another and greater province farther to the west, and when he proposed to visit it, Fray Beltrán objected, and refused to go farther. Accordingly, the party was divided, and, on April 11th, Espejo and nine of the soldiers and a number of the Zuñi warriors set out for the "Province of Mohoche," as Moqui or Hopi was called. Messengers sent by

<sup>42</sup>Luxán, *Entrada*, and Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>43</sup>No trace of Espejo's visit has been found upon the rock. Chamuscado, who passed over the same trail two years earlier, left his name upon El Morro. For a description of El Morro see Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 331.

<sup>44</sup>For Oñate's list see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 1017; see J. W. Fewkes, *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, I, 95, for a map of the Zuñi Valley.

Espejo to Moqui returned with the answer that they would oppose the white man's entry, and "they requested that the Spaniards make known what they wished, and they would send it to them."<sup>45</sup> Notwithstanding their paucity of numbers, the Spaniards paid little attention to the threatening reports from Moqui, but pushed on. To distinguish their Zuñi allies from the enemy, in the event of a combat, they tied a piece of red felt to the hair of each Zuñi warrior.

On April 17th they arrived in the Moqui land near the ruins of a pueblo that had been destroyed by Coronado's men in retaliation for an Indian attack. It was because they still retained memories of Spanish vengeance that the natives were so menacing toward Espejo. A great number awaited him near the ruin, one league from Aguato;<sup>46</sup> but instead of attacking they sued for peace. Their kindly proffers were gladly received by Espejo, and an exchange of presents was made. Then the Spaniards entered the pueblo of Aguato, and, with banners waving, trumpets sounding, and with a salvo of shots, they took possession in the name of His Catholic Majesty. "It was truly the will of God," said Luxán, "that only ten Spaniards should cause that province with more than twelve thousand . . . to tremble."

In Moqui were discovered five pueblos, named by Luxán: Aguato, Gaspe, Comupani, Majanani, and Olallay.<sup>47</sup> Although Aguato had 1500 houses, Olallay was said to be the largest pueblo of the province. The culture of the Moqui impressed the white men as being very high; they were particularly impressed by the extensive irrigated fields of maize and cotton. The raising of cotton was especially widespread among these Indians, and they were accustomed to trade cotton mantas with their neighbors. Noteworthy among the presents they gave the Spaniards were four thousand cotton mantas. "In spite of these gifts," said

<sup>45</sup>Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>46</sup>"This was Awatobi, a now extinct Hopi pueblo, about nine miles south-east of Walpi, in southeastern Arizona. It was visited by Tovar and Cardenas in 1540, and by Oñate in 1598" (Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 186, n. 1).

<sup>47</sup>Obregón named them Aguato, Oalpes, Moxanany, Xornupa, and Olaxao. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 560-68, for a description of the Hopi.

Espejo, "they felt that they were doing too little for us, and asked if we were satisfied."<sup>48</sup>

No trace of gold or silver was discovered in the land of the Moqui. The natives, however, repeated the stories told Espejo in Zuñi, regarding a large lake to the northwest surrounded by settlements with inhabitants who wore bracelets and earrings of gold. They were too few to venture to that land, which was very distant. The story of the lake remained in Espejo's memory and constituted the principal attraction to induce him to petition the crown for a commission to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. He was also told of the existence of mines nearer at hand, and he determined to seek for them. Since the route was described by the Indians as being very rough and mountainous, and lacking in water, Espejo decided to leave part of his men and all of the baggage. Accordingly, five of the soldiers were sent back to Zuñi, while the captain and four of his men left Aguato on April 30th.

They traveled about forty-five leagues in a westerly direction; the country through which they passed was extremely mountainous and difficult. It was very sparsely populated, for only occasionally did they encounter nomadic Indians. On some occasions these Indians appeared before the Spaniards with little crosses tied to their hair; evidently word had been communicated to them that the display of the cross would safeguard them against the white men. The route taken by Espejo into western Arizona cannot be exactly traced. The "mine" for which they searched was finally discovered in the region of Bill Williams Fork, west of Prescott, Arizona. It proved to be nothing more than a copper deposit. Without heeding the natives' report of a great river to the west, undoubtedly the Colorado, and more mines "three days beyond," Espejo and his companions returned to Aguato.<sup>49</sup> From there they rejoined their companions in Zuñi. Father Beltrán had not yet departed for Mexico.

When the captain made known his intention to continue prospecting, "for," he said, "it was necessary to find mines if that land was to be settled and the souls of the natives saved," the *alferez*,

<sup>48</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 186.

<sup>49</sup>"They went traveling as far as the confines of the Valley of Senora" (Obregón, *Crónica*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). Bolton erroneously states that they took a more direct route to Zuñi (Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 165).

Gregorio Hernandez, announced his intention to join Beltrán. He persisted in his determination over the strenuous objections of his comrades. The party was now definitely divided. Beltrán and his six soldier companions and the family of Miguel Sanchez were the first to depart. They planned to take the most direct route to Mexico. Two days later (May 31, 1583) Espejo and his eight companions took leave of the Zuñi Indians. The natives were reluctant to see them leave, and promised that, if the Spaniards would return the next year, they would plant a greater amount of maize.<sup>50</sup> The return route to the Tiguas was substantially the same as on the outward trip.

When they approached Ácoma they discovered that the Indians were aroused. It seems that Fray Beltrán had induced a couple of Espejo's servants, a Conchos man and his wife, to desert, and he promised to await them at the Rio Grande. The deserters were set upon by the natives of Ácoma, who coveted their numerous cotton mantas, and the man was killed. This incident aroused the Indians and they attacked the Spaniards, who, in retaliation, set fire to their rancherias and laid waste their fields of corn. "All this," said Luxán, "was caused by the padre and the deserters who went with him. God protect us for Your Holy Service."<sup>51</sup>

From Ácoma Espejo and his companions returned to the Tigüex pueblos on the Rio Grande. As on the occasion of their first visit, most of the Indians fled to the mountains. In Puaray, however, many of the Indians remained in the pueblo and from their rooftops jeered and derided the Spaniards. "Seeing that if we did not punish them somewhat," said Luxán, "they would become insolent and try to kill us, since the pueblo was large and most of the people were hidden inside, we set fire to the great pueblo of Puala, and we knew from the cries which were being emitted from some of them that they were being burned alive. Then, immediately after, we took the prisoners by twos, and tying them to some poplar trees near the pueblo of Puala, they were given a flogging, and some of them were so severely punished that they died. They were estimated to be sixteen besides those that were burned. Some were released who did not seem to belong to Puala.

<sup>50</sup>Narrative of Espejo, 188.

<sup>51</sup>Luxán and Obregón describe at considerable length the efforts of Francisco de Barreto to recover a Querecho woman who had escaped during the skirmish.

It was a strange thing for a few men to do among so many enemies." The fate of Puaray spread consternation among the other Indians and they were anxious to accede to every demand of the Spaniards.<sup>52</sup>

After visiting once more the Queres pueblos to the north of Puaray, the Spaniards directed their steps to the east up the Galisteo basin. Chamuscado had been over this route, and a few years later Castaño de Sosa was to follow it also.<sup>53</sup> In the mountains to the south was the mine of Santa Catalina, which had been discovered by Chamuscado; Espejo turned aside to test the ore, but, finding it unsatisfactory, he continued to the Tanos settlements in the vicinity of the present Galisteo, about twenty miles south of Santa Fé.<sup>54</sup> The Tanos of Galisteo comprised three large pueblos: Xameco, Tepocoty, and Tepotro.<sup>55</sup> That there existed in the sixteenth century a group of pueblos in the Galisteo basin is supported not only by archaeological evidence,<sup>56</sup> but by the records of early explorers such as Castañeda's account of the Coronado expedition, Gallegos' *Relación*, and Castaño de Sosa's *Memoria*. The Tanos were described as being more warlike than the other Indians; therefore, when they refused to accede to the Spaniards' demands for food, they were constrained to move on.

From Galisteo Espejo crossed the mountains to the northeast to the Pecos River Valley. A short distance from that river, which they called Rio de las Vacas, because of the buffalo that ranged its banks, they discovered another very large Tano pueblo named Cicuc or Siqui. This was Cicuye, or Pecos, now extinct, but at the time of Coronado's visit the largest pueblo in New Mexico. It was situated on the Pecos river about thirty miles southeast of

<sup>52</sup>Espejo does not mention the burning of Puaray. He says that from Zuñi they returned to the Queres (Narrative of Espejo, 188).

<sup>53</sup>Hull, *Castaño de Sosa*, 153.

<sup>54</sup>Espejo is sole authority for the statement that, from the Queres they went east about twelve leagues to the "Province of the Ubates." He reports the discovery of five pueblos in that province. In the upper Santa Fé valley Chamuscado discovered four pueblos. These may have been the Ubates reported by Espejo. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>55</sup>Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>56</sup>Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 100-107; J. P. Harrington, *The Ethnology of the Texas Indians* (*Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Washington, 1916), 480-488. For a description of the ruins see N. C. Nelson, *Pueblo Ruins in the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico*, in *Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1914), XV, 103.

Santa Fé.<sup>57</sup> The Spaniards estimated the pueblo to have 1500 houses and a male population of two thousand. Although the Indians refused their requests for food, the few Spaniards boldly entered Cicuye, went to the plaza, and there discharged their guns. This demonstration frightened the Indians so badly that they gladly gave sufficient food for the balance of the journey. Obregón contrasts this feat of the nine Spaniards with the futile assault of Coronado's six hundred men and three thousand Indian allies upon the same pueblo.<sup>58</sup>

On July 5th the explorers started down the Rio Pecos on the return journey to Mexico. They adhered to the river's course for a distance of about 120 leagues without seeing a single human being; nor did they catch a glimpse of the buffalo, although they discovered numerous traces along the way. Finally, on August 7th, they found three Jumano Indians, who told them that the Rio Pecos emptied far below the mouth of the Conchos. They said it would be best to leave the Pecos and cross overland to the Rio Grande. With the Jumanos acting as guides they left the Pecos and tramped for forty leagues past numerous Jumano settlements. On August 16th, they reached the Rio Grande a short distance below the Conchos junction. The last stage of the journey up the Conchos was accomplished without incident. They arrived in San Bartolomé, their starting place, on September 10, 1583, after an absence of ten months.<sup>59</sup> They learned that Father Beltrán and his companions had arrived some time before, and had gone to Durango.

While Antonio de Espejo was absent in New Mexico, the Audiencia of Mexico ordered (January, 1583) that the judgment against him be executed.<sup>60</sup> By this authority the alcalde mayor of Santa Bárbara seized Espejo's property, and, in particular, the four thousand cotton mantas that had been given to him by the Indians of Moqui. The Indians whom he had brought back with him to instruct as interpreters were also seized. The fiscal,

<sup>57</sup>Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 220. Obregón gives an interesting description of the pueblo and its inhabitants.

<sup>58</sup>Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Winship (*The Coronado Expedition*) does not mention this incident; perhaps Obregón was in error.

<sup>59</sup>Espejo said they arrived on September 20th (Narrative of Espejo, 192).

<sup>60</sup>See n. 10.

Eugenio de Salazar, evidently underwent a change of heart with respect to Espejo, for, at his solicitation, the audiencia ordered the restitution of Espejo's property, and "an investigation of his acts in the new lands and the cause of the imprisonment with the view of making amends. The native guides were ordered instructed."<sup>61</sup>

Immediately following his return from New Mexico, Espejo set himself to the task of writing a complete account of the expedition, and what he saw in the new lands. According to himself, his purpose in doing so was "to report to his Majesty that he may order what is best for the exploration, and pacification of those provinces, and for the service of God our Lord and the increase of His Holy Catholic Faith." His description of the resources of the new lands and their inhabitants was most roseate; in fact, it is replete with exaggeration, for he wished to make his discoveries appear as important as possible. This would not only improve his chances of receiving a commutation of sentence, but also, he hoped that he would be intrusted with the task of conquering the new lands. Notwithstanding the attachment of his property, he claimed to have sufficient resources to finance the expedition.

The narrative was completed in Santa Bárbara at the end of October, 1583. A copy was despatched to Viceroy Moya y Contreras, but the author would not venture to Mexico City, for he said, "not until I shall have proved my innocence of the charge against me, which I hope in God will be soon, shall I venture to appear before your Lordship."<sup>62</sup> Another copy of the narrative, a memorial, some testimonials, and a personal letter were taken to the king by Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Espejo's son-in-law. In conjunction with Juan Garcia Bonilla, royal scribe, and Diego de Salas Barbadillo, solicitor of the court, Espejo's petition was presented in Madrid in October, 1584.<sup>63</sup>

In the "Memorial" Espejo set forth in detail his plans for the conquest, "at his cost, without any expense to his Majesty."<sup>64</sup> He proposed to organize an expedition of about five hundred colonists and twenty-four Franciscans. They were to be thoroughly

<sup>61</sup>Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

<sup>62</sup>Espejo to the viceroy, 1583, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 193.

<sup>63</sup>Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza to the king, Madrid, October, 1584 (A. G. I., 58-6-19).

<sup>64</sup>*Col. Dóc. Inéd.*, XV, 151-162.



equipped to make permanent settlements. His plan was unique in that he proposed to make the new province dependent upon Spain rather than on Mexico. To accomplish this he would establish a port on the North Sea (Gulf of Mexico) as a base of communications and supplies. He begged hasty action because the Indians were friendly to the Spaniards and had been promised a hasty return. If they were to rescue the Indians from their idolatrous practices, they should act at once or all would be lost.

Accompanying the petition were letters of recommendation. One of these was from Fray Pedro Oroz, Comisario General of the Franciscan Order in Mexico. Because of Antonio de Espejo's good character and great services, he begged the king "to pardon him for a certain unfortunate happening which befell him a few years ago in this kingdom."<sup>65</sup> Another letter was from Fray Diego Rengel, guardian of a Franciscan monastery in Mexico. Since he had years of experience among the barbarous Chichimecos, and therefore "desired the good of the natives," Fray Rengel begged that Espejo be pardoned for "a certain unfortunate happening," and that he be entrusted with the conquest of New Mexico.<sup>66</sup> As is well known, Antonio de Espejo was not awarded the contract to undertake the conquest and settlement of New Mexico, for, after a long delay, that privilege was won by Juan de Oñate in 1595. The responsibility of Espejo in stimulating interest in the new lands which finally culminated in Oñate's conquest was very great. That was the contribution of Antonio de Espejo to the founding of New Mexico.

Although he was unsuccessful in being awarded the contract, nevertheless Espejo's representations to the king won for him a suspension of sentence while his trial was reviewed by the Council of the Indies.<sup>67</sup> With the intention of defending himself before the Council of the Indies, or of personally presenting his petition for a commission to conquer New Mexico, or perhaps with

<sup>65</sup>Fray Pedro Oroz to the king, Mexico, April 22, 1584 (A. G. I., 58-3-9).

<sup>66</sup>Fray Diego Rengel to the king, Mexico, May 23, 1584 (A. G. I., 60-2-22).

<sup>67</sup>A royal cédula ordered a suspension of sentence, and the remittance to the Council of the Indies of all papers relating to the case. The king to the Audiencia of Mexico, Poblete, April 16, 1585 (A. G. I., 58-6-23). Prior to the issuance of the royal cédula, Espejo had been notified of the crown's intention to review his case, and he immediately wrote a letter of appreciation to the king. Espejo to the king, May 10, 1585 (A. G. I., 58-6-19).

the two-fold purpose, Espejo started on a journey to Spain, but died en route at Havana.<sup>68</sup> Thus, he never atoned for his complicity in the murder of Marcos Ramos, but we can assume that a partial justice was exacted in the refusal of the Spanish king to lend an ear to his petition to conquer and settle New Mexico.

<sup>68</sup>Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, 110.